

No. 416

June 2, 1944

## The theory and practice of peace-making

'IS the present war to be repeated for yet a third time? Or is the replanning of Europe to accept the ideas of Christian teaching?

"Generosity begets generosity: cooperation evokes good will: a resolve to let bygones be bygones means that people with evil memories are blotted out.'

"We must persuade men to forget the natural bitterness which will be left behind.'

-Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, on Sunday.

RVERY weekday from January last year until Tuesday of last week 30 loaves—60 on Saturdays—were put on the wall outside the bakery at Hambrook, near Bristol, for free distribution to the villagers.

Each loaf carried a label reading: "V bread—help yourself. The practical means to peace among men is total war against poverty."

The bread was paid for by an anonymous American soldier.

Mrs. Turner, the baker's wife, said on May 24: "He used to call on us now and then and have a cup of tea, but he would never tell us his name. He had the 'V' labels specially printed to go around the loves. The poorer people around here appreciated them very much."

Now the American soldier is no longer in the district and the bread no longer appears on the wall. But the villagers will remember him for a very long time.

### WHY CHURCHES BACK BOMBING POLICY

The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Britain has replied to the appeal addressed to them by French Cardinals and Archbishops, which, as reported last week, asked them to seek Government action in securing more care to avoid civilian casualties in allied air raids on France. The reply, published on Monday, said:

"We know air warfare . . Your Eminences, herefore, can be sure that the grave matter you raise has long been present to our minds . . In notifying the British Government of our reply to the appeal of your Eminences . . we shall again repeat to them the value we set upon clear and repeated assurances, which they have given, that pilots are instructed to take every precaution to keep within the smallest limits the infliction of death on civilian populations . . ."

It is not clear exactly what value the hierarchy places upon "clear and repeated assurances."

#### "GOVERNMENT IS RIGHT"

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, however, in another pronouncement on Monday, did not even require repeated assurances.

(More French comment on Allied raids: see

# A PEACE TO END PEACE

## - if Prime Minister has his way

## A plan that will repeat the errors of 1919

HE lamentable defect in Mr. Churchill's commendably frank and full statement of policy on May 24 was the complete absence of hope offered to Germany.

The formula of unconditional surrender was maintained and re-emphasized; so was the former declaration that the Atlantic Charter has no application to Germany.

The intention to compensate Poland for territorial surrenders to Russia was made more explicit than before:

"I must repeat that the essential part of any arrangement is the regulation of the Polish eastern frontier, and that in return for any with-drawals made by Poland in that quarter she should receive other territories at the expense of Ger-many which will give her an ample seaboard and a good, adequate and reasonable homeland in which the Polish nation can safely dwell."

### Germany's future

THE contrast between the intended treatment of Germany and the actual treatment of Italy was deliberately underlined. "The overwhelming mass of the Italian nation," declared Mr. Churchill, "rejoices in the idea of being released from the subtle tyranny of the Fascists." There was not the faintest suggestion that any part of the German people might part of the German people might similarly rejoice; instead, Mr. Churchill made it plain that he, at any rate, was determined that it should have no cause to do so.

It is not, I think, misinterpreting the sense of a thoroughly considered utterance to say that it definitely showed that it is Mr. Churchill's set policy that the Germans shall be given no opportunity to surrender on terms. If the Germans were to over-throw Hitler, it would make no difference. The Germans face a future of which they can confidently expect nothing save that they will be wholly at the mercy of the United Nations.

### **Breeding discontent**

THIS is, I believe, a profoundly unimaginative and deeply mistaken policy, which will bring to disaster the very purposes which it is intended to achieve. Consider the sequence of this crucial passage:

"There is no question of Germany enjoying any guarantee of any kind that she will not undergo territorial changes, if it should seem that the making of such changes would render more secure and more lasting the peace of Europe.

"Scarred and armed with experience, we intend to take better measures this time than could previously have been conceived to prevent the renewal in the life-time of our children or our grandchildren of the horrible destruction of human values which marked the last and the present world wars.

"We intend to get in a world order and

"We intend to set up a world order and organization equipped with all the necessary attributes of power in order to prevent future wars or the planning of them in advance by restless and ambitious nations."

It is the familiar and sickening story. A world-organization to prevent not war, but the disturbance of a "peace" which is to be based on no principle at all, A Germany which resents, as any conceivable Germany must resent being dismen-Germany must resent, being dismembered to compensate Poland, will of course be "restless." Would England, forcibly deprived of Kent and Sussex, not be "restless"?

### War — and jobs

THERE is only one way to world peace. It is that the peace settlement shall be one which commends itself as roughly just to victor and vanquished alike. Unless this and vanquished alike. Unless this basic condition is satisfied, one consequence is certain. The democracies will become morally uneasy, and will refuse the burden of maintaining an unjust settlement.

### Observer's Commentary

will require them to be permanently militarized. Personally, I do not believe that they will accept this, though I cannot make a confident though I cannot make a confident judgment. Because militarization may be in practice the only means to "full employment." And it is not impossible that powerful business interests, both here and in USA, may short-sightedly welcome a world in permanent danger of total war (and therefore permanently properties for therefore permanently preparing for it) as the only environment in which the substance of industrial capitalism can be preserved.

That is true; but to welcome such world is satanic. Nevertheless, the danger is that the satanic may come to pass. The desire of the common man for security of employment may work in unholy combination with the refusal of capitalism to liquidate itself by producing for common con-

### The 1919 experience

THIS miserable and unworthy future is contained in embryo in Mr. Churchill's refusal to give the Germans hope: hope of being called to play an equal part in a constructive

European peace-order.
Mr. Churchill's incapacity to learn from the recent historic past in which he himself played so important a role is so striking that one is tempted to accuse him of deliberately perverting the lesson of recent history. President Wilson's offer of the 14 Points, in this perverted rendering, is a mistake which we must avoid repeating, for fear the Germans will again say that they surrendered not to the military might of the United Nations, but to principles of justice which they defended. Because in 1919 we were half-hearted in doing right and therefore failed to establish it, in 194- we

must make no attempt to do right, but deliberately base our hopes of peace, and our organizaion of peace,

on actions we know to be wrong.

Sooner rather than later, I believe, the democracies will repudiate this moral imbecility and its consequences, which will include a life of intolerable burdens for themselves. But it may then be too late, as it was in 1931. The dragon's teeth will have been

#### Sensitive warriors

CIRCUMSTANCES conspire narrow pacifists into a selfrighteous sect, to make them grow less human not more, to shut the eyes of their imagination. I believe they should struggle against this with all their heart and mind and soul. They should say to themselves that for every pacifist who has stuck to his decision, there are a dozen men, whose imagination and courage and discernment, whose loathing of war and love of peace are at least equal to theirs, who have not found it morally possible to stand out of this war

Whatever authentic record they find of the experience of such men, they should treasure it, commune with it, and make it their own. It is with it, and make it their own. It is not the literature of non-violence of which they stand in need one half so much as the literature of the sensitive warriors of today. One such book is Richard Hillary's "The Last Enemy." If our study groups would study that masterpiece—and in particular the last chapter: "I see they got you, too"—something quite important might happen.

Mr. Gandhi's plans

R.W. writes:

"Mr. Amery's statements that Mr. Gandhi was released solely on grounds of ill-health and that the position as regards those still in detention remains unchanged have drawn a comment from the Mahatma that is puzzling the British Press. Taking the statements at their face value he 'agrees that his release is only temporary and has no political significance'. (Bombay message, May 24.)

"It is as well to remember Mr. Gandhi's reactions on other occasions when he has been released unconditionally on health grounds. He has then considered himself morally obliged to refrain from positive political action until the expiration of the sentence he was serving. In this case there is no sentence; but the refusal to release Nehru and the others shows that the Government is not yet willing to end the deadlock and is simply taking precautions against the uncomfortable possibility that the Mahatma might die on its hands.

"Probably Gandhi considers himself morally obliged to do no more than gather information at present. When his health improves I believe he will plead with the Viceroy to release his colleagues, and if unsuccessful offer himself for renewed detention, since the reasons for which he was released no longer operate and it would be unjust for him to be unconditionally free to act, when his friends—whose responsibility is precisely the same—are not even free to consult. It is not the sort of action that Western statesmen easily understand, but it would be natural to Gandhi."

## ...and still going strong

publication of the first number

any publication without ing.

In view of the difficulties that arose for Peace News when Regulation 2D was issued—difficulties which for a time included very uncertain printing arrangements and a wholesalers' ban on the paper (still in force)—it is encouraging that we should reach our eighth birthday at all.

It is even more encouraging to report yet another rise in circulation. For the month of May our weekly printing figure averaged 18,694 copies. This represents an increase of 119 over the April figure, and a total increase of 1,044 since the end of last year. since the end of last year.

For that burden will get so onerous that they will be unable to fulfil it and remain democracies, because it will you help us to celebrate our birthday by trying to get at least one more new reader for Peace News

TUESDAY next, Jun. 6, is the during this month? We want to eighth anniversary of the double that total increase and so make the maximum use of our

publication of the first number of Peace News.

This week marks a different kind of anniversary, for Defence Regulation 2D is now four years old. Under 2D the Home Secretary has wide powers to suppress any publication without warn-

(See also: "Now is the time!"back page.)

#### WHO GIVES QUICKLY GIVES TWICE

T helps PPU Headquarters more than you think if, instead of holding on to balances, groups would send on their contributions to Regions and on their contributions to Regions and Areas regularly and promptly, and if Area treasurers would, with equally commendable regularity and promptitude, send them on to Headquarters. In addition, please remember our Headquarters Fund, contributions to which have now reached £127 13s. 1d.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE, Hon, Treasurer.

### PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4 Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

#### OUT OF THE ASHES

THE scene is the battlefield of the Chersonnese, after the re-capture

Chersonnese, after the re-capture of Sebastopol: the witness the war-correspondent of The Times:
"Beside a German corpse on the shore just below where I am writing lies a skeleton. Near them I picked up a book. It was an anthology of Nietzsche's writings, edited for German soldiers. One quotation reads: 'Cooperation with Russia in a new common policy is absolutely essential for Germany'. The passage had been heavily scored in pencil by a reader who lies dead."

Why this abysm between what men

Why this abysm between what men

desire and what they do?
The paradox of human existence is at breaking-point. The more interdependent men throughout the world become, the more hopelessly enmeshed and imprisoned are they in the network of the national society. The new integration of the national societies is at once good and evil: and the evil consequences at this moment vastly predominate over the good German who is now become our neighbour, infinitely closer than he was fifty years ago, is mentally conceived as one towards whom neigh-bourliness is impossible. Yet every single Englishman knows, in his heart, that this is a lie. The split in the modern consciousness amounts to

universal insanity.

Professor Macmurray puts the realization in "Through Chaos to Community" (National Peace Council.

odd.).

"We are all foreigners in the new world-without-frontiers. For there is no common system of daily life to sustain our efforts to co-operate."

Hence derives the strange premonition that the world is on the brink of new forms of social life. It struggles with the knowledge that the world is given over, against its will, to unspeakable excesses of mutual destruction. The war is the birth-throes of world-revolution.

The process is beyond human control. In order to control it, human

trol. In order to control it, human beings would need to be different from what they are. Being what they are, world-war is the only means of world-revolution. That is partly because human beings are deepet because human beings are decent. Civil war was the only other way of achieving world-revolution. And the western democracies had advanced beyond the possibility of civil war.

Seen from this angle, our grim ex-crience is not so disheartening. perience is not so disheartening. World-war is preferable to civil war. The next step is for man to feel that world-war is still civil war. realization may be much nearer than politicians dream. the politicians dream. In that realization will be the world-revolution. And, we think, it will come from below. The bombs of their liberators and the bombs of their enemies are much the same to the homeless and bereaved common people of the occupied territories. It is War, not the enemy, that is their enemy. That indistinguishability between

friend and foe is the direct consequence of the new techniques that bind men together. Indeed, it is part of the new human integration. The aeroplane, the vehicle of indiscriminate destruction, is the vehicle of new mutuality. And the indiscriminate detruction will, we believe,

be the means by which the new mutuality is experienced.

During the London blitz it was remarkable how little hatred was felt towards the enemy; it is remarkable how little satisfaction is expressed. satisfaction is expressed, now that the tables are turned, over the air-devastation of Germany. The reports from Germany itself are to the same effect. The Germans do not hate the English and Americans for the sufferings they now endure. It seems to them an impersonal destiny: the consequence of War, not human

The common folk are right. The destruction that is rained upon them comes not from the positive malevolence of enemy peoples, but from the nature of things in a world in travail of rebirth: a world in which the discrepancy between the powers of man and his social habits has reached such an extremity that a new integration is inevitable. Man cannot go on living as he is living now. Since he will not die, he will change. Perhaps he is changed

#### Money is in the news: let John Scanlon initiate you into the mysteries of WORD for the War

A Cabinet. Beveridge, Scott and Uthwatt enthusiasts attack it on its flanks and in its But nobody attacks it rear. frontally. Nobody attacks it on the principles for which it stands. These principles can be summed up in the classic economic phrase-Sound Finance.

But the Cabinet critics also believe in Sound Finance. Because of this their attacks are unfair. They are asking the War Cabinet to do things which no Cabinet believing in Sound Finance could possibly do. They are asking the Cabinet to spend money after the war which it may not have after the war. That is not Sound Finance.

Readers may ask "But what is Sound Finance?" And the answer is And the answer is that we have been living under it since 1819. According to Walter Bagehot's classic work "Lombard Street," the Money Market began in 1819, and the Money Market decides what is, and what is not, Sound Finance.

#### Broke the Rules

There are recognized rules for national trading and for international trading. The Banks of England, France and New York had been work ing hard from Aug. 31, 1931, until September, 1936, to get the old rules working again. The Banks failed, and as Mr. Eden explained at Geneva in September, 1936, "recovery of trade had been uneven."

This, apparently, was due solely to the fact that Germany and other nations had violated the laws of Sound Finance. They had indulged in barter and had forbidden the free movement of gold which, according to the Cold Delegation of the League of the Gold Delegation of the League of Nations, is really the linch-pin of Sound Finance.

LET us now see what are the guiding principles of Sound

Finance.
First, it must be accepted that there is only a limited quantity of money in the world. Second: This money is private

Third: If any nation or individual wishes to produce goods, that nation or individual must borrow this money and pay rent for the hire.

Fourth: Money is not good money

unless it is issued on the ratio allowed

SOUND FINANCE

under the rules. So much gold—so many notes. No gold—no notes. Fifth: The rules are drawn up by

the leading money markets and are final and binding in peace-time.

#### Back to Normal

modified system can work in Britain during a war, but this is because the owners of gold are heart and soul in this war. They are pre-pared to waive their rights in a just cause, but when justice has been established once again they will wish to return to the paths of righteousness.

They did after the Napoleonic Wars. They also returned to rightdid after the Napoleonic eousness in November, 1919, when a Treasury Minute curtailed the quantity of notes in circulation in Britain. This made the lesser quantity good notes. They rang true as gold.

It is fairly certain that we shall return to the paths of righteousness after this war. Some earnest gentlemen have been sitting in New York working out plans which will see the world safely back to Sound Finance.

If nations are to be allowed to produce goods they will require first to get "chips" from someone before they will be allowed to sit in on the game. After they get the chips the game will certainly follow the rules laid down by Ely Cubbertson for Bridge, i.e., the winners will be those nations which take most tricks from their opponents both in the bidding their opponents both in the bidding and in the game proper.

NOW we see the dilemma of the War Cabinet. Sir William Beveridge, for instance, is clamouring that all the victims of Sound Finance should have per week. Others are asking the Cabinet to contract in advance for works which will require large sums of coins in the future.

But Mr. Churchill, who has before now expounded what he calls the "orthodox Treasury view," may not have the money. True, he might have money but it would not necessarily be good money. The people who decide what is good and bad money, according to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, are

"the gold countries." He showed this in the House of Commons in 1933 when replying to a suggestion made by the late Mr. Reginald McKenna, who at that time was Chairman of the Midland Bank. Mr. Chamberlain said.

"Mr. McKenna was advocating a policy of controlled inflation . . . I wonder if we might not find that the gold-using countries were forced into taking measures which might be extremely embarrassing for our credit."

#### How It Works

To make that a little plainer let us imagine that all the aged, sick and unemployed millions have £2 per week and want to spend it. They will want some eggs. Britain will not have enough eggs. And to get eggs the £1 will be required to be changed into a will be required to be changed into a will be required to be changed into a foreign currency. £s may be required to buy dollars which are the eurrency of a gold country. The owner of the dollars may therefore say: "Beveridge to 100." £1 notes are only worth 5s. or 10s." We may say that a Beveridge £1 note will always be worth 20s. in Britain. But, as Mr. Chamberlain has warned us, the gold countries might damage our credit.

Now, according to fact and Mr. Baldwin, London has lived on its credit for over a century. London does not produce anything. It lives by its credit, which is its power to attract money to London at one rate of interest and lend it at a higher rate of interest. Unless the City of London is bent on suicide it will require to return to the rules recognized by the gold countries. It cannot attract money unless it can promise to pay gold when called on. It cannot lend money unless the money it lends will buy gold currencies.

The Cabinet, as I have said, believes in Sound Finance; so does the Labour Party, so does Sir William Beveridge. Almost all the critics supported the National Government of 1931 in sticking to Sound Finance. Since then nobody has put forward an alternative to Sound Finance.

Lenin had an alternative. He printed money to suit his production needs. Mr. Churchill, who believed in Sound Finance, tried to smash Lenin's system. But unless we have an alternative to Mr. Churchill's system we can only expect it to yield what it has always yielded—poverty and war.

ARE STRIKES

A PACIFIST

**METHOD** 

## Reply to a pro-Russian pacifist

To the Editor

(May 5), is pro-Russian is easily to be seen; that he is a pacifist, either by

Moscow Art Theatre! Does he not realize that there is no other choice for the still great Russian theatre than to go back to the productions of the old Czarist days to fill what would otherwise be a vacuum: since in Soviet Russia, what is called art is utility-art, fruits of the "prolet-cult" tree, and the public is dead-tired of the black and white propaganda stuff? 2." The great truth-seekers in world literature have been Russians." They

were great explorers, in an eternal search for the hidden secrets and hiding-places of the soul, the Russian soul; they had a religious longing to strip their souls of their last veilsis this to be identified with a search for eternal truth?

I doubt it. I doubt whether even Tolstoy was in search of eternal truth. The great Russian writers were nearer to fatalism than

was in search of eternal truth. The great Russian writers were nearer to fatalism than to idealism.

3. But the reason why I doubt Mr. Watkins' pacifism is that he sees no harm in the newest turn of the Kremlin's foreign policy: seeking all sorts of "strategical frontiers" (against a totally defeated and disarmed and permanently controlled Germany?); inciting Poland to take German territories from the Germans, such as East Prussia, Silesia and even parts of Pomerania—the more the better—which would guarantee deadly and everlasting hostility from the whole body of the German nation against the Poles as well as make Poland absolutely dependent on Soviet Russia; for the Poles have learned what it means to have two great neighbours hostile to them. But in denouncing such clever designs of naked power-policy under the sign of the hammer and sickle, I feel I am in danger of being called by Mr. Watkins a "prejudiced bourgeois."

(Dr.) F. WOLFF.

(Dr.) F. WOLFF.

#### No homes for heroines

Compulsory military service for girls as well as boys after the war was advocated by Sir William Jowitt, Minister without Portfolio, at a Women's Advertising Club luncheon in London on May 16.

"Girls leaving the Services would not be content to go home and arrange

not be content to go home and arrange the flowers for mother," he said. Work must be found for them as well as for the boys coming back.

CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE 4d. (by post 5d.)

PPU Bookshop, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1

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by R. H. WARD
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Faust legend and having contemporary
application. Three men and one woman
in the cast.
post 2/3 paid

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Also Court-Martial Guide (3d.; by post 4d.) C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1

3d. brings you, post free, two eight-page pamphlets:

#### Prison Reform: **Objections answered**

by J. Middleton Murry, Vera Brittain, Laurence Housman, Ethel Mannin, etc.

#### Prisoner's Medical Charter

which contains the aims of

PRISON MEDICAL REFORM COUNCIL 5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent

THAT Mr. Eric Watkins, the writer of the open letter to "Observer" faith or by reason, is not quite so evident. But Mr. Watkins' naivete is—shall I call it?—disarming.

1. He is excited about the fact that they are now playing the "Cherry Orchard" with great success at the

### Words of Peace-75

#### Essence of religion

The essence of religion lies in man's faculty of foreseeing prophetically, and pointing out that path of life along which humanity must progress, and in a new definition of the meaning of life-differing from its previous one—from which the whole future activity of humanity will result. There have always been some in whom the capacity to foresee the path humanity must follow has been shown with particular force, and these men have clearly and definitely expressed what was vaguely felt by all men, and have established for hundreds and thousands of years a new comprehension of life from which an activity resulted differing from what had gone before.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement or PPU connection with the matter advertised.

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### STRIKES

THE Non-Violence Committee, in common with other PPU sub-committees, was reappointed by the last meeting of National Council.

Besides the members of staff and Council who are already on it, the Non-Violence Committee now has the services of Bill Roberts (North-West Area Representative), Michael Lee (of Pacifist Service Units), and the Development Officer, Donald Port. Research on non-military struggles will be the principal concern of the Committee during the next few months, and a number of qualified PPU members and groups will help in this work.

The first task of the committee is for the

bers and groups will help in this work.

The first task of the committee is for the moment over. The symposium, "Non-Violence for the West?", the "Classics" by Thoreau, William James, Tolstoy and Gandhi, and the agreed statement on "Non-Violence and the PPU" have sketched the general ideas and prepared the way for examination of particular cases. There have been requests for further copies of "Non-Violence and the PPU" and a second edition of the memorandum has been prepared. Any group may have up to a dozen copies free on application to Dick Sheppard House, and individual members may, of course, have single copies.

The new PPU pamphlet, "Are Strikes a

have single copies.

The new PPU pamphlet, "Are Strikes a Pacifist Method?", which reprints a paper written by Constance Braithwaite for the Non-Violence Committee, marks the beginning of the second task. Misgivings over the recent regulation against strikes give this essay considerable topical interest, and it could be passed on to many non-pacifists. But the particular value of the pamphlet is its examination of strike action in relation to pacifist principles. Constance Braithwaite's views are not those of the whole committee, but there were no two opinions as to the value of the survey as a stimulant to clear thinking and useful discussion.

Strike action, it is argued, is not inconsistent

were no two opinions as to the value of the survey as a stimulant to clear thinking and useful discussion.

Strike action, it is argued, is not inconsistent with pacifism; nor is it an ideal pacifist method, since the object of pacifism is to promote the just and peaceful solution of problems without resort to any coercive form of collective action. Industrial strikes—the collective refusal of intolerable conditions of labour—might not be altogether eliminated by legislation, by arbitration—or even by socialism. But it must not be supposed that the striker is always right, without reference to the whole subject of dispute. Often it may be found that the only acceptable solution to a particular conflict is to be found in some radical change in the whole social order.

Less space is given to political strikes, and the conclusions here are—inevitably—more controversial. Constance Braithwaite says—she is arguing that a strike against foreign military occupation might end in violence or extermination of the strikers—"I doubt the possibility of the success of a strike against a completely hostile government." This seems to involve a Vansitartite assumption as to the character of the invaders, and to under-rate the effect of sacrificial and noh-harmful resistance upon the military leaders and upon the morale of the rank and file. The "hostility" of a government is conditioned by the willingness of its agents to continue a policy of violent repression and of public opinion to countenance it. The power of non-violence lies partly in the transformation which it may thus bring about in the "enemy"—of which a glimpse is seen in the Hungarian resistance under Deak, briefly described by Richard Gregg.

The Non-Violence Committee is now preparing a book-list with notes, of which further details will be given soon. Information about little-known books and pamphlets on the subject, for inclusion in the list, would be welcomed.

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"It is absurd to deny that there are, and always have been, large numbers of decent kindly Germans. The trouble is not that good Germans do not exist, but that they are singularly ineffective in restraining the bad Germans." Thus a recent statement by the Labour Party.

It must be very comforting to hand over the baby like this. Whether the good Germans could control the Nazis or not is very questionable. We never encouraged them to do so. When good democrats were in power, like

Streseman, we wiped our boots across them. But when Hitler took power we tumbled over one another to give him all he demanded. What could the ordinary Germans (neither 'good" nor "bad") make of that? the That we only respected the bad Germans. It appears we still have a lot of cant and humbug to get rid of.

JOHN H. BROCKLESBY
44 Burringham Rd., Scunthorpe.

### "Highland Journey"

"Highland Journey"

The correspondent who sent the quotation from "Highland Journey," published in our issue of Apr. 14, sends us the following reply to the letter from R. MacRobert which appeared on May 19:

R. MacRobert is too hasty. The author of "Highland Journey" is now a member of the Scottish Land Court. The journey referred to is no "writer's tour" but that from the cradle to age, a life-time devoted to Highland farming mostly under DOAS. Few men could know the ground better. Presumably the Lewis spokesman, born and bred to his job, needs no correction from an incomer. Of the many scores of Island and Highland homes known to me, only one is dirty—very dirty; some are depressingly clean.

Leverhulme too was distilusioned, at great expense. His illusions were those still fashionable, that economic security is the supreme good, that plumbing and progress are twin brothers, that primitive religion is backward bunk, and so on. These matters are of importance to pacifists; in sending you the quotation I was not, I think, abusing your space.

#### Origins of ley farming

Like so many people today, particularly those whose interest in agriculture is of recent date, George Davies calls ley farming a system which is "revolutionizing our agriculture" and attributes it to Sir George Stapledon.

Ley farming as a system is neither revolutionary nor is it the product of George Stapledon's agile mind. Stapledon deserves the thanks of every farmer for his work in the improvement of grass and clover strains suitable for use in an old north country farming system, but not credit for originating the system.

My father practised ley farming in York-shire all his life, as his father before him, and it therefore comes natural for me to continue this method as a north-countryman farming in the south. Would it not therefore be more correct to refer to "the old north country system of ley farming which is now revolu-tionizing the agriculture of our southern counties following publicity given to it by Stapledon's work"?

Goosegreen, Sutton Mallet, Bridgwater, Som.

#### Heard-Huxley "heresy"

without wishing to prolong unduly a correspondence that promises to steer towards the rocks of theology I should like to comment on

Who is responsible for Nazism?

"It is absurd to deny that there are, and always have been, large numbers of decent kindly Germans. The trouble is not that good Germans do not exist, but that they are singularly ineffective in restraining the bad Germans." Thus a recent statement by the Labour Party.

It must be very comforting to hand over the baby like this. Whether the good Germans could control the Nazis or not is very questionable. We never encouraged them to do so. When good democrats were in power, like Streseman, we wiped our boots across them. But when Hillen took power.

We may feel impelled to speak of God in what intellectual construction we put on our experiences of integral awareness. But in the immediacy of experience the complete individual knows of no dichotomy between God and man, bound up in relation with his world as he knows himself to be. Hence there are no doubts about "utilitarianism": simply the recognition of an unbroken continuity. Surely, it is only our poverty-stricken egos that conceive a discrepancy between our responsibilities to man on the one hand, and to the deity on the other.

HAROLD WARDMAN
21 Wood Lane, Isleworth.

#### Worship or stunt?

It would be interesting to know if Sunday is still looked upon as a day of worship, or whether it is to be degraded into a kind of variety show at the bidding of any interest or organization that seeks to exploit it. Surely the practice of "special" Sundays is not only being carried to the point of absurdity, but is also tending to destroy both the sanctity and spiritual value of our day of worship—or what remains of it!

(Rev.) H. J. DALE Quainton, Aylesbury.

June 2, 1944, PEACE NEWS-3

### PEACE CORNER IN **GLASGOW**

The United Peace Campaign has established a "Peace Corner" in Glasgow, and at the second meeting, on May 21, the speakers addressed an audience of 200 people.

Campbell Wilkie (PPU) took the chair, and the speakers were Bill Haldane, Joseph Vincent (No Conscription League), and Alex Smith.

Smith,

Smith.

A member of the audience was heard to remark, "These pacifists are more revolutionary than the revolutionaries!"

Even the most optimistic supporters of the Campaign have been surprised by the response at meetings. Glasgow is becoming "Peace Corner" conscious and a formidable list of speakers has been arranged for the summer series of week-end meetings.

#### JOB FOR C.O. LANDWORKERS

The part which CO land-workers can play in helping to build a bridge of understanding and knowledge between the rural life and that of the town-dweller is pointed out by D. Wallace Bell in an article entitled "The mu and the toil," which appears in the May issue of the Bulletin of the Central Board for COs.

The other contents—all of which are of great interest to COs—include: "Peter Fraser: then and now," dealing with the position of COs in New Zealand; "The young in prison," by A. Joe Brayshaw; and a review by Roy Walker of Capt. Liddell Hart's new book, "Why don't we learn from history?"

The Bulletin is published at 3d. (4d. by post from the CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.)

#### **EXEMPTION REFUSED TO EX-CAPTAIN**

Formerly a captain in the Army and now an office manager, Donald Brodie, of Chiswick, told the London CO tribunal at Fulham on May 25 that he served with the BEF in France (reported the Evening Standard). He was discharged last September but had been recalled. His views had changed and he now objected to taking part in the war. He was refused exemption.

### INTER-AREA CONFERENCE IN THE NORTH

A MIDST the delightful surroundings at Heys Farm, forty-four people from three PPU Areas (Yorkshire, North-West, and Lakeland) met for their first inter-Area conference. Many of the Lancashire people had conferred there before. Most of the Yorkshire visitors—still in their own territory—will probably wish to return.

frank Dawtry spoke at the Saturday evening session on "The future of pacifism." His remarks were not provocative or even controversial, being largely a reiteration and emphasizing of things which have been voiced by many people on various occasions. His special plea was for pacifists to remember they are always pacifists, that our approach to all problems of life and all measures of reform should be tolerant though firm and always non-violent. He stressed the tendency which often arises for pacifists merely to redirect their violence into violent thought and political action, using political methods which were really not pacifist at all.

He also raised the challenge: How many of us fail to use our opportunities of permeation outside the pacifist movement? How often do we shirk an issue or keep quiet when we ought to raise our voice in protest against an action or a word which requires correction? We must remember that challenge—always.

There was a very good discussion and useful contributions were added.

After an enjoyable pre-breakfast ramble through the frost-covered fields "performed" by about half the party, Frank Dawtry led the thoughts of the second session on "The future of the PPU."

He outlined the function of the PPU as a coming together of pacifists of all descriptions who had united on one issue alone—their opposition to war. He reminded the conference that the PPU consists of many individualists with a variety of approaches, that there is an equal variety of exits or remedies for action, and that one group or sect must not expect to force another group to their line; that there should be no domination of one school over another.

We must not expect to achieve pacifism through politics, although we may achieve some reforms which will make it easier. We should strive to achieve a unity of spirit in our endeavour to commend pacifism to our fellows. In commenting on the danger of some pacifists being content merely with goodness in their own lives, Frank Dawtry quoted Milton, "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreather..."

Two important comments which arose in discussion are worthy of note: I. That there is a danger of seriously weakening our message and witness in trying to find the lowest common denominator amongst our members—which would probably be so low as to be useless and meaningless; 2. That in trying to find common ground with non-pacifists we were in danger of losing our identity by sliding down the slope of compromise.

Richard Bland as chairman gave a very effective touch to the proceedings and there was a unanimous appreciation of the success of the conference.

G.T.

### CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

#### ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

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MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship, on Jun. 4 at 3 p.m., Selly Oak F.M.H., Norman Robbins will speak on "A Christian attitude to a Chris-tian Political Party."

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COMMUNITY REQUIRES single woman or married couple. Market gardening and domestic. Agricultural wages. Cheesecombe Farm, Hawkley, wages. Chee Liss, Hants.

### Now is the time!

FIFTY-THREE copies of Peace News were sold in less than two hours on the streets of Coventry on Saturday, May 13, although in many respects conditions were unfavourable—weather was bad, it was the climax of "Salute the Soldier" week, and the sellers had to go into a little square off the main thoroughfare. Jim Ewart, local PN distributor,

"I do feel that this shows that people are as ready now as they are ever likely to be at least to examine our message. Can you appeal to all distributors saying that now is the time to get out on the streets and start selling? 'The funny feeling they have in their stomachs at the thought of such a thing isn't anything peculiar to them . . I do feel it a pity (that's mild!) if we miss this opportunity of passing Peace News on to a not unwilling public."

#### PRACTICAL WORK FOR PEACE

A thousand youth volunteers of any nationality from schools, clubs, factories and offices are needed this summer for camps on harvesting, fruit picking, market gardening, estate work for the National Trust and hostel work with evacuee children. These camps are organized by the International Voluntary Service for Peace in order to promote better international understanding through practical work for those in need.

understanding through practical work for those in need.

Plans have been made for longer summer services in Essex, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and volunteers—both boys and girls aged 14-18 and adults for leadership—are needed.

Following the success of last year's camps, 1944 opened with three New Year Services—English, Belgian and Spanish volunteers helped to redecorate a youth hostel, to lay drains around two National Trust cottages, and to help in a refugee hostel for infants.

At Easter volunteers accomplished a variety of jobs—cleaning, repairing and whitewashing an old mill in North Wales, draining and estate work on National Trust property in the Derbyshire moorlands, redecorating a Youth Hostel in the Yorkshire dales, digging part of a trench to bring a waterpipe line to a hostel in Surrey, taking down an open-air theatre for re-erection on a new site in West Ham, London, and giving valuable help in a nursery hostel in Essex.

This work is described in an illustrated bulletin which can be obtained from the National Youth Secretary, 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2, together with full details of the summer camps.

The first IVSP Foreign Service Unit is already in the Middle East training in refugee.

summer camps.

The first IVSP Foreign Service Unit is already in the Middle East training in refugee camps for reconstruction work in Europe.

#### DR. GEORGE MACLEOD

"The Rev. George F. MacLeod, the pacifist preacher . . . announced today that while he accepts the baronetcy to which he has just succeeded, he will still be known as plain 'Rev..'" reported the Star on May 20. Dr. MacLeod is a Sponsor of the PPU. He succeeds to the baronetcy of MacLeod of Fuinary through the death on active service of his nephew, Capt. Sir Ian MacLeod.

The annual general meeting of the Manchester and District Region of the PPU on May 20 passed unanimously an emergency resolution urgently requesting, "in order to prevent the suffering and devastation which must, inevitably result from the opening of a Second Front," that the Government "should now make every effort to ascertain the basis upon which a negotiated settlement might be made at the present time."

## LORDS DISCUSS THE KERSHNER PLAN

### Minister rejects Earl of Darnley's plea for food relief now

F the Government would accept the Kershner food-relief plan "it could be an act of such Christian goodness, and therefore of such benevolent potency, that it could not fail to produce great benefit, not only to the receiver but also to the giver," said Lord Darnley, concluding a moving plea in the House of Lords

on May 23.

The Earl called attention to the ference by the occupying authorities. fact that no mention was made by the Minister of Economic Warfare, in the debate in the House of Lords on May 9, of the question of relief to starving mothers and children in occupied Europe, and suggested that recent developments of opinion in America exemplified by the unanimous resolutions of both Houses, and the recommendation of the ILO at Philadelphia, together with opinion in this country, show increasing world support for a limited scheme of relief such as the Kershner Plan, and enhance the chances of success.

ennance the chances of success.

"I have quoted public opinion as a help, not as a lever," said Lord Darnley. "Dr. Kershner claims that help can be given entirely independently of any pending or present military action . . It is . . incumbent on those who have full powers, and perhaps more incumbent still on those who have full stomachs, to take some action . . . Dr. Kershner believes that what is proposed to be sent, plus what the children already have, would keep them in a fair degree of health."

He then read from the September broadcast Dr. Kershner's answers to the various objections. "I do not bring this Motion forward in any form of hostility," he added, "but because I feel that the terrible urgency of this matter requires that it should remain a subject for constant review and discussion."

#### SELBORNE'S REPLY

Lord Selborne, Minister of Economic Warfare, said in reply:

nomic Warfare, said in reply:

"Dr. Kershner is not the only gentleman who has put forward a scheme for the relief of children and expectant mothers in Europe. There is the scheme put forward by Dr. Bigwood and there are a number of other schemes." To speak of "starvation" in Western Europe was misleading. "There is hunger, there is privation, there is malnutrition, there is distress, but nothing that could be called starvation."

Criticising Dr. Kershner's broad-cast the Minister made the point, dealt with in Peace News last week, that Kershner's experience was in Southern France before the German occupation and he revealed that the number of shipments through the blockade to France was only five

Lord Selborne then quoted Kershner's remark:

"Our own State Department is authority for the fact that the Germans do not take any of the 19,000 tons of food going to Greece each month. I received the same assurance from the MEW in London last winter."

No such assurance, he said, was given to Dr. Kershner. It is a pity that no-one reminded the Minister of his Parliamentary Secretary's statement in the Commons on Mar. 16,

"My latest information is that the relief foodstuffs imported into Greece through the

#### blockade have been distributed without inter-

But Lord Selborne now says "It is a regrettable fact that I have not been able to assure your Lordships that the relief scheme for Greece does not benefit the Germans." He gave no hint as to how relief benefited the enemy, and did not mention the recent large increase in Greek relief.

Kershner's plan would call for organisation "in every village" of occupied Europe, "a most elaborate affair." He did not agree that they would be free to terminate a scheme once it had started. He spoke also of "impending military operations" which would make "any such scheme under the circumstances of 1944 fantastic" and feared that to hold out hopes of relief would only lead hungry people to draw on their slender reserves and thus produce a still worse situation."

"I suggest to my noble friend," he concluded, "that the course he recommends, far from assisting the people of occupied Europe, would really inflict great injury upon them because it would lead them to entertain exaggerated hopes which in present circumstances could not be fulfilled."

Similar discussion may soon take place in the House of Commons.

The Food-Relief Campaign of the PPU will publish the Lords discussion verbatim.

#### LOUISE DONALD

A brave and whole-hearted pacifist and reformer has just fought her last fight against Dick Sheppard's malady, asthma. Louise Donald of Dundee was an invalid from childhood, but often from her bed has carried on a vital correspondence with friends, and challenged public men and women over the many evils which affect the lives and happiness of working people.

Her letters were an inspiration—so selfless, concise, and constructive—and her lively correspondence with various MPs over famine relief in Europe, bombing, local government and the proposed medical service showed her clear and active mind.

"I think," she wrote, "the doctors are more concerned with the physical conditions, whereas the physical, mental, and psychological are interdependent."

Again: "A cousin of mine with the forces in Sicily tells me the tragic devastation of modern war must be seen to be realized, it defies description. What kind of a peace can emerge from the fears and hatreds engendered on all sides? I find it difficult to guess what the real feeling of the people in occupied countries can be. Yet so many people here consider our large-scale air raids right, though they are 'sorry' for the innocent who suffer."

Her words about nature were poignant. On

they are 'sorry' for the innocent who suffer."

Her words about nature were poignant. On one of the few days she could see them growing she wrote: "Little speedwells by the country road amazed me. I stood staring at them, my mind unable to grasp the wonder and mystery of their growth and loveliness."

Mystery, yes, in all life and in suffering—but in the end peace.

M.M.

### C.O. FILM ACTOR TO BECOME A MINISTER

Lew Ayres, the pacifist film actor, plans to become a Congregational Minister after the war. He told this to newspaper correspondents at Hollandia, Dutch Guinea, where (according to Press reports on May 23) he is acting as assistant to a chaplain at the beach-head and gives spiritual comfort to wounded soldiers." The report added that he was "still a conscientious objector."

and nights poring over books on the world's religions, and was a fervent conscientious objector." Lew Ayres (adds Iddon) "according to returning war correspondents, now looks like an old man, his deeply lined face seamed with fever."

Lew Ayres achieved fame for his acting in "All Quiet on the Western Front" and in the Dr. Kildare series. His studio \(\frac{1}{2}\). cancelled his contract and film-fans gave him a hostile reception when he entrained for his Civilian Public Service Camp. He is now technically a Sergeant in the US Army Medical Corps. but according to radio commentator Jimmie Fidler (in a broadcast quoted in The Reporter, Mar. 15) "the men look upon Ayres as a 'chaplain', a personal adviser and confidant. He accepts to special favours, and because of his religion-

inspired aversion to taking an oath has refused the opportunity to attend officers' candidate school." Fidler quotes a letter from a US Cavalry Sergeant who "had an opportunity to observe this man whom press and public had victimized because of his adherence to a principle" and who believes such people "didn't know how wholesomely sincere his objections were." The soldier adds "I do not agree with Lew's philosophy, but I pray that after this war . . . the world will be blessed with more of his kind."

#### DISCRIMINATION IN SENTENCES

The news that "Dr. Kildare" will "never return to pictures" does not surprise Hollywood, wrote Don Iddon in the Daily Mail, May 24, for "he in trespective, spent days"

On May 23 two cos appeared at Croydon police court for refusing a court order to be medically examined for the Forces. One of these, Reginald White, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, but the three months' imprisonment, but the other, John Seibert, was sent to prison for twelve weeks. This meant that the first, but not the second would be able to apply for his case to be reconsidered by the Appellate Tribunal, three months' imprisonment being the minimum period entitling COs to go back to the tribunal.

Earlier in the war the Croydon Magistrates regularly gave prison sentences of 12 weeks but, following repeated protests, the practice was ultimately discontinued. Immediately on learning of this new sentence the Central Board for COs entered a vigorous protest against discrimination of this kind.

#### VAIDYA DISCHARGED

Suresh Vaidya, the Indian Nationalist CO who was conditionally registered by the Appellate Tribunal on May 12 following a court-martial sentence, was discharged from the Army on May 25.

On coming to London by train Vaidya was met by Fenner Brockway, chairman of the CBCO and of the Indian Freedom Campaign Committee, to whom he indicated that he did not regard the struggle against the conscription of Indians as over.

In a letter published in last week's New Statesman, Fenner Brockway said that Vaidya does not feel able to accept the conditions of exemption imposed by the tribunal.

#### MANDOLIN WANTED

I am a pacifist working on the land, and have made friends with some Italian prisoners, one of whom is very bored in camp. He is musical. I wonder if a generous Peace News reader could send me an old mandolin to give to the bored Italian? Mario would be very grateful, and so would I.

H. ESMOND GRIFFITHS 28 Heol Maenofferen, Blaenau Ffestiniog.

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### FRENCH COMMENT ON ALLIED RAIDS

Another French comment on Allied air-raids was contained in a message received by E. B. Wareing, a Daily Telegraph correspondent, and published on May 24, from a source which he is "not yet at liberty to reveal."

"Lasting resentment will be created," according to this message, "Lasting "unless aerial bombardment is (1) very accurate; (2) quite necessary; (3) followed rapidly by invasion."

#### **IAPANESE OBSERVE P.O.W.** CONVENTIONS

The Japanese are observing international conventions in the general treatment of prisoners of war held in Japan proper. This assurance, it was reported in the Press last week, is given in a report received by the Apostolic Delegate in Australia from the Apostolic Delegate in Japan, who has made many visits to internment

has made many visits to internment and to prison camps.

The report from Japan said: "The difficulties of which the prisoners complain arise from the extreme differences between the mentality of the prisoners and the customs and mentality of the Japanese. Generally speaking, and in particular from the point of view of food and clothing, prisoners are placed on the same level as Japanese soldiers."

(Mr. Eden told the Commons in January that perhaps 80 to 90 per cent. of Japanese prisoners of war and internees were held in the Southern area—i.e. outside Japan proper.)

#### **SOUTH AFRICAN MOVE AGAINST** POLL-TAX

The formation of an organization to fight the poll-tax levied on natives and to investigate and report on more equitable forms of taxation is reported by the Natal Daily News. The organization asserts that the native poll-tax should be replaced since it has "created a lot of prisoners out of decent men." The group is composed of educated natives who can express themselves in English.

### A CONCERT

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